

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CU-02 AEC-05 H-01 INR-05 L-02

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 AECE-00 EB-04

OES-03 COME-00 STR-01 AF-04 /094 W

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O R 161000Z NOV 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9254

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 212

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 6994

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CSCE PARM EGEN SGEN XG

SUBJ: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS-NOVEMBER 11-15

1. SUMMARY: CSCE REGISTERED SOME PROGRESS FOR THE FIRST  
TIME IN SEVERAL WEEKS. PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS  
INFORMALLY AGREED AFTER A RECORD 56 NEGOTIATING SESSIONS,  
AND SHOULD BE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED NEXT WEEK. PARA-  
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GRAPH OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL ON REFRAINING

FROM WAR PROPAGANDA WAS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED, AND DRAFTING BEGAN ON KEY PARAGRAPH ON ENTRY AND STATIONING OF TROOPS IN ANOTHER COUNTRY WITHOUT ITS CONSENT. IN BASKET III, SOVIETS MADE FOUR MOVES TO STIMULATE PROGRESS: THEY ACCEPTED THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE VERSION OF A TEXT ON REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES, PROVIDED THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF ONE WORD CONFORMS WITH THEIR WISHES. THEY ALSO ACCEPTED A TEXT ON CIRCULATION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS (WHICH WAS THEN REJECTED BY THE ITALIANS), AND FLOATED NEW LANGUAGE ON MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES, "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS", AND THE INTRODUCTORY PHRASES ON HUMAN CONTACTS. ALTHOUGH NONE OF THESE WAS A MAJOR MOVE BY ITSELF, TAKEN TOGETHER THEY WERE INTERPRETED AS AN INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ON THESE SUBJECTS, AND ENCOURAGED MORE PROMISING INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS. WHILE THE SOVIET MOVES MAY BE DESIGNED TO CREATE A MORE FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE FOR FORTHCOMING HIGH LEVEL VISITS AND THE NATO MINISTERIAL, THEY DID INJECT THE CONFERENCE WITH A MORE POSITIVE SPIRIT. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE REACHED INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON TEXT OF SEVENTH PRINCIPLE (HUMAN RIGHTS) ON NOV. 14, AFTER 56 MEETINGS DEVOTED TO THIS SUBJECT. SOVIETS WISHED TO REFER TEXT TO MOSCOW BEFORE AGREEING TO PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION, WHICH WE EXPECT WILL TAKE PLACE ON NOV. 19. SUBCOMMITTEE THEN RETURNED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. ALTHOUGH THE FRG AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS HAD PRIVATELY WORKED OUT A TEXT WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH PARTIES, AND TO MOST NATO AND WARSAW PACT DELS, AMENDMENTS FROM THE DUTCH (RIGHT OF STATES TO CHANGE THEIR POLITICAL REGIMES) AND GREEKS (STATES SHOULD NOT ENCOURAGE THE DISMEMBERMENT OF OTHER STATES) MAY LEAD TO DIFFICULT AND PROTRACTED DISCUSSIONS. ROMANIANS WILL ALSO HAVE SOME SPECIAL AXES TO GRIND IN CONTEXT OF THIS PRINCIPLE. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED A PARAGRAPH FROM ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON NON-USE OF FORCE WHICH RELATES TO WAR PROPAGANDA, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND BEGAN DRAFTING ON PARAGRAPH PROHIBITING ENTRY OR STATIONING OF TROOPS IN ANOTHER COUNTRY WITHOUT ITS CONSENT. ROMANIANS CONSIDER THIS PARA TO BE THE CENTERPIECE OF THE ENTIRE PAPER.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--WEEK WAS TAKEN UP WITH SECOND READING OF PREAMBLE TO CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, WITH SOVIET BLOC CONTINUING TO RESERVE ITS POSITION

ON WHETTER OR NOT THERE WILL BE A SEPARATE DOCUMENT ON MILITARY SECURITY. DISCUSSION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PREAMBLE SERVED MERELY TO UNDERLINE WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS. MEANWHILE, IN INFORMAL SESSIONS, DRAFTING OF PARAGRAPHS ON OTHER ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY CONTINUED, WITH SOME SLIGHT HEADWAY TOWARD AGREEMENT. NEUTRALS PERSISTED IN THEIR DESIRE TO INCLUDE IN THE TEXT THE CONCEPT OF THE RIGHT TO BE INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER NEGOTIATING FORA (E.G. MBFR).

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--IN FULL COMMITTEE ROMANIA TABLED A DRAFT TEXT ON "NEW ECONOMIC ORDER" WHICH IS CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE TO WESTERN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND SHOULD TIE THE COMMITTEE UP IN KNOTS FOR AT LEAST SEVERAL WEEKS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES SPENT TWO FULL MEETINGS ON A TEXT CONCERNING THE LIBERALIZATION OF OBSTACLES TO TRADE, BUT WAS UNABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT. THE PROBLEM AT THIS POINT CENTERS EXCLUSIVELY ON THE QUESTION OF WHETEHR AND HOW TO COVER SERVICES AS WELL AS TRADE IN GOODS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION COMPLETED WORK ON OPERATIVE SECTIONS OF RESOLUTION ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, WITH REGISTRATION OF TEXT ON SPECIFIC BILATERAL AGREEMENTS CONCERNING PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. SUBCOMMITTEE AGREED THAT A SEPARATE SECTION PERTAINING TO BOTH COMMERCIAL EXHCNAGES AND INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION WILL BE FORMULATED TO COVER REPATRIATION OF PROFITS, ARBITRATION AND STANDARDIZATION. SWEDEN PROPOSED A STRUCTURE FOR THE RESOLUTION ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, WHICH WILL BE CONSIDRED NEXT WEEK.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--IN HUMAN CONTACTS, VARIOUS BILATERAL APPROACHES TO THE SOVIETS, INCLUDING CONFIDENTIAL

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STRONG US REPRESENTATION, SEEM TO HAVE HELPED BREAK THE LOGJAM ON THE FAMILY REUNIFICATION PAPER WHICH THREATENED TO STOP ALL PROGRESS: THE SOVIETS INDICATED THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT LANGUAGE ON "POSITIVE" CONSIDERATION OF APPLICATIONS FOR REUNIFICATION, PROVIDED RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION SAID APPLICATIONS WOULD BE CONSIDERED IN A "POSITIVE SPIRIT". THIS SOLUTION HAS NOT YET BEEN ACCEPTED BY ALL DELEGATIONS. SOVIETS ALSO PUT FORWARD INFORMALLY NEW LANGUAGE ON MARRIAGE, INTRODUCTORY TEXT AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS (MAC), AND THESE MOVES STIMULATED ACTIVE COORDINATION AND INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET LANGUAGE CONCEDED LITTLE, PARTICULARLY ON MAC, BUT WAS READ BY MANY DELEGATIONS AS A WELCOME INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATITE ON THESE CRITICAL TOPICS. IN INFORMATION,

ITALIANS INFURIATED OTHER NATO DELS BY BLOCKING AGREEMENT ON A SENTENCE ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN BLOCKED BY THE SOVIETS. THIS INCIDENT, COUPLED WITH SOVIET INSISTENCE ON "RECIPROCITY" IN THE EXCHANGE OF FILMS AND OTHER AUDI-VISUAL MATERIAL, PREVENTED ANY FORWARD MOVEMENT. IN SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION, LIMITED RATE OF PROGRESS SLOWED FURTHER, AS DISCUSSIONS IN BOTH SUBCOMMITTEES SHIFTED TO MORE CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS. IN CULTURE, FRENCH COMPROMISE FORMULA FOR INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS ENCOUNTERED STRONG OPPOSITION FROM AUSTRIANS, SWEDES AND SWISS. NEUTRALS ARGUED THAT SAFEGUARD CLAUSE IN FRENCH TEXT IS TOO BROAD, AND INITIATED PRIVATE TALKS WITH SOVIET AND GDR DELS TO TEST EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER DIFFERENT LANGUAGE.

6. COMMENT: AFTER SEVERAL WEEKS OF STAGNATION, THE SIGNS OF PROGRESS WHICH THE CONFERENCE HAS SEEN IN THE LAST FEW DAYS PROVIDED A NEEDED IMPETUS, AND CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS TURNED ONCE AGAIN TO THE QUESTION OF HOW MUCH STAGE II WORK CAN BE COMPLETED BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS, WHICH MOST DELEGATES THINK WILL BEGIN ON DECEMBER 21. THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO BE OPTIMISTIC IN THEIR INFORMAL APPRAISALS OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE, AND ARE CURRENTLY URGING THE COMPLETION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON CONFIDENTIAL

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HUMAN CONTACTS BEFORE THE BREAK. IF SOVIET MOVES DO INDEED SIGNAL A MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS, AND A DESIRE TO CONCLUDE DISCUSSION ON THESE CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTS, IT WOULD BE MECHANICALLY FEASIBLE TO WRAP UP THE DRAFTING WORK ON HUMAN CONTACTS RATHER QUICKLY.

7. HOWEVER, IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIET MOVES, WHICH HAVE NOT ENTAILED ANY SIGNIFICANT SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSIONS, ARE BASED ON OTHER CONSIDERATIONS, AND SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED SOLELY OR EVEN PRIMARILY AS INDICATING A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE TOWARD HUMAN CONTACTS PROPOSALS. OTHER FACTORS WHICH MAY HAVE LED THE SOVIETS TO OFFER SOME INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY AT THIS TIME INCLUDE: (1) THE RETURN OF SOVIET BASKET III CHIEF DUBININ TO MOSCOW TO PREPARE FOR THE BREZHNEV-GISCARD SUMMIT (DUBININ IS DIRECTOR FOR WESTERN EUROPE IN THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY). DUBININ MAY HAVE WANTED TO SHOW PROGRESS BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE; (2) AGREEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. LACK OF PROGRESS ON PRINCIPLES FOR SO LONG MAY HAVE PROMPTED THE SOVIETS TO HOLD BACK IN BASKET III; (3) THE RECURRENT TENDENCY

OF THE SOVIETS TO OFFER SOME PROGRESS WHEN THE ATMOSPHERE  
OF THE CONFERENCE TURNS REALLY SOUR; AND, PERHAPS MOST  
IMPORTANTLY (4) THE DESIRE OF THE SOVIETS TO IMPROVE THE  
WESTERN IMPRESSION OF CSCE PROGRESS PRIOR TO THE FORTH-  
COMING SERIES OF HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING  
BREZHNEV'S SUMMIT MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENTS FORD AND  
GISCARD, AND THE NATO MINISTERIAL. END COMMENT. DALE

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